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## BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

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*The Tariff in Our Times.* By IDA M. TARBELL. New York: Macmillan, 1911. 8vo, pp. ix+375. \$1.50.

This volume, made up mainly of a series of articles published during the last few years in a popular magazine, is a study of certain phases, or it might almost be said one phase, of our tariff history beginning with the passage of the Morrill Act. If any evidence were needed that special interests have been a dominant factor in shaping our tariff legislation, it is supplied here in abundant measure. The story discloses above all else the "self-interest," the "greed," and the trickery which is found in the making of the whole series of laws studied. There is no intimation that there has been or could be any great national policy back of these laws, or that any but the direct beneficiaries and their tools could have really desired them; it has all along been a matter of the protected interests making bargains among themselves and with party leaders for a proper return for campaign subscriptions; and it is only occasionally that we get a glimpse of the industries of the country, of their changing conditions, and of the effect of legislation upon them. The greatest merit of the book lies, not in the study made of industrial conditions, but in the more difficult task, for the conscientious investigator, of analyzing human motives. The book is strong on the human side. There is a wealth of the personal element drawn partly from the published utterances of the characters and partly from those unpublished sources the author has on previous occasions shown such skill in tapping. Unfortunately the theme brings out chiefly the darker motives in tariff-making. But it is not when dealing with the ominous and the sinister, though here she works with no 'prentice hand, but rather when relating the efforts of the tariff reformers, leading an almost forlorn hope, that the author is at her best. One wishes she had found more heroes like Mr. Cleveland, Mr. Wilson, and above all Mr. Mills, to relieve the distinctly depressing effect of the story.

The reader, even though in sympathy with the main object of the book, cannot but feel that zeal or indignation has often led to exaggeration and something akin to unfairness. It is doubtful whether the "appalling" increase in prices after the passage of the act of 1862 was in any large measure the effect of that act (p. 22). The method of dealing

(p. 351) with Mr. Lodge's report on the cost of living in 1910 seems something less than frank. The effort to make Rhode Island, selected for obvious reasons, appear as a horrible example of the shortcomings of the protective system is not altogether happy. "Rhode Island is one of the most perfect object-lessons of the effects of high tariffs in this or any other land" (p. 336). A hundred years of protection has concentrated "effort in one line, putting an end to agriculture and commerce," and turned the state from an "all-round" industrial development to a great manufacturing district. Shipbuilding has ceased and her men go forth to trade no more. Undoubtedly protection has much to answer for in the matter of shipping engaged in foreign trade, but American shipbuilding as an industry has by no means ceased, though it may for local reasons have done so in Rhode Island. "The flourishing farms" of a century ago have been deserted for the factory; but this is due no doubt in part to the lack of protection rather than because of it—to lack of protection against the more fertile lands of the West. The decay of farming and the loss of her "40,000 sheep" (she had 90,000 as late as 1840) was inevitable; and it is not usual under such circumstances to regard the growth of manufactures as a misfortune, even though the state's industrial development has been one-sided. Better that than no development, most observers would say; though Miss Tarbell questions it (p. 339), because of what it fails to do for the American workingman. As far as protection has caused the multiplication and enlargement of factories, it is responsible for the evils complained of in factory employment; but free-traders are not wont to admit, and indeed but few protectionists assert, that the Great Industry would not have developed very much by the course it has taken, although at a different rate, tariff or no tariff. The evils of the employment of women and children, bad sanitary conditions in factory and tenements, industrial accidents, "bottle babies," and the like exist in Rhode Island as elsewhere, not as a result of protection, but as incidents of the Great Industry. They continue not more because of the "greed," "moral obtuseness," and "consciencelessness" of protectionists than because of the moral obtuseness of the public generally, which, till very recently, has developed little or no conscience in such matters. Obviously if the tariff were swept away, these evils would still remain to be dealt with by social legislation.

Mr. Joseph Cannon is apt to say when defending protection that this "is not a poor man's country" and the statement often wins applause; but the figures showing family earnings disturb that comfortable

conclusion. Those who treat lightly the question of maintaining by protection industries which do not pay would do well to study the examples given in the chapter entitled "Where Every Penny Counts," of the way the burden of a few dollars more for food and clothing falls on that dishearteningly large class who can barely make income and outgo meet. The most interesting part of the chapter, however, deals with the relation of protection to combination. The migration of certain industries, such as the cotton-thread industry to the United States to avoid high duties, the migration of American capital to other countries for a like reason, and the centralization of control in the shoe industry have nowhere been set forth more interestingly than here.

It is not, however, with the general industrial results of the tariff that Miss Tarbell is chiefly concerned, but rather with the moral and intellectual results. "Simmered down to its final essence the tariff question as it stands in this country today is a question of national morals, a question of the kind of men it is making" (p. 357). "The history of protection in this country is one long story of injured manhood. Tap it at any point, and you will find it encouraging the base human traits—greed, self-deception, indifference to the claims of others." That charge may be well sustained by the facts; but it might fairly be made against the whole industrial system, resting on competition, which tariff-reform is expected to rehabilitate. One who is in sympathy with Miss Tarbell's cause cannot but regret that she has imputed to the protective system evils with which it is only remotely connected, if at all. He may believe that it has sins enough clearly its own to answer for to condemn it, without believing that it necessarily involves moral turpitude or intellectual weakness on the part of its adherents in Congress and out of Congress.

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*Unemployment Insurance.* By I. G. GIBBON. London: P. S. King & Co., 1911. 8vo, pp. xviii+354. 6s.

This volume is "a record of researches in the Department of Sociology in the University of London." It was presented to the public soon after the English government announced its intention to introduce a bill, which has since become a law, to provide for sickness and unemployment insurance. The author has done his work well; he has written a calm, careful, and comprehensive discussion of the important problems